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MORI/CDF per C05138240

FM THE WHITE HOUSE

TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI.

ZEM

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE EYES ONLY

WH21293

TO: AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH, SALT, HELSINKI
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER, WHITE HOUSE
DELIVER ON RECEIPT.

DOBRYNIN HAS JUST HANDED ME FOLLOWING TEXTS WHICH HE SAYS
SEMYONOV WILL TABLE IN HELSINKI MONDAY. HE SAID HE WAS DOING SO
AS A COURTESY TO THE PRESIDENT AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE SPIRIT OF
THE CONFIDENTIAL CHANNELS BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND THE PRESIDENT IN WHICH
SALT MATTERS HAVE BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION. I SAID ALL MY COMMENTS
WERE PRELIMINARY AND OFFICIAL REACTION WOULD COME FROM YOU.

ARTICLE III

1. BEGIN TEXT

"THE SIDES UNDERTAKE FOR THE PERIOD OF THIS INTERIM AGREEMENT TO
LIMIT, BY LEVELS MUTUALLY AGREED FOR EACH OF THE SIDES, THE TOTAL
NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILES LAUNCHERS ON MODERN SUBMARINES."

END TEXT

I MADE NO COMMENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT

DEFINITION OF ICBM

"BY ICBM LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS, MENTIONED IN ARTICLE I OF THIS
AGREEMENT, ARE UNDERSTOOD LAUNCHERS OF ICBM WITH THE RANGE EXCEED-
ING THE SHORTEST DISTANCE BETWEEN THE NORTH-WESTERN BORDER OF THE
CONTINENTAL PART OF THE USSR TERRITORY".

END TEXT.

I MADE NO COMMENT.

3. BEGIN TEXT

IT IS NOT EXPEDIENT TO SET GEOGRAPHIC LIMITS TO THE LOCATION OF
AREAS OF ABM DEPLOYMENT FOR COVERING ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS BOTH IN THE
SOVIET UNION AND IN THE UNITED STATES.

END TEXT.

I TOLD HIM THAT THIS WOULD BE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. HE LEFT
THE IMPRESSION THAT OUR OBJECTION WOULD BE MANAGEABLE.

OSD Review Completed

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

State Dept. review
completed

4. BEGIN TEXT

ANNEX

DRAFT EXCHANGE LETTER

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS THOROUGHLY CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING FOR THE USSR AND THE USA AGREED LEVELS OF THE NUMBER OF MODERN SUBMARINES AND BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS THEREON IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONCLUSION OF AN INTERIM AGREEMENT ON FREEZING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS.

THE SOVIET UNION AGREES THAT THE USA SHOULD HAVE, FOR THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM FREEZE AGREEMENT, 41 MODERN SUBMARINES WITH THE TOTAL NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS THEREON OF 656. OVER THE SAME PERIOD THE SOVIET UNION WILL HAVE TOTAL NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS ON MODERN SUBMARINES NOT EXCEEDING 950. THE SAID NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS IN THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE DEPLOYED ON MODERN SUBMARINES OPERATIONAL AND UNDER CONSTRUCTION AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS ON SUBMARINES THAT WILL BE BUILT ADDITIONALLY. ADDITIONAL LAUNCHERS ON SUBMARINES IN EXCESS OF THE 48 MODERN SUBMARINES OPERATIONAL AND UNDER CONSTRUCTION WILL BE PUT IN COMMISSION IN THE SOVIET UNION IN LIEU OF OLDER-TYPE ICBM LAUNCHERS BUILT BEFORE 1964.

IT IS ALSO IMPLIED THAT IN MODERNIZING OLDER SUBMARINES WITH BALLISTIC MISSILES OR IN REPLACING THEM BY NEW SUBMARINES THE SIDES WILL NOT INCREASE THE ABOVE SAID TOTAL NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS ON MODERN SUBMARINES.

THIS LETTER CONSTITUTES AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.
END TEXT.

I REMINDED DOBRYNIN THAT TO REACH THEIR TOTALS THE SOVIETS MUST DISMANTLE G AND H CLASS SUBMARINES. DOBRYNIN SAID MOSCOW UNDERSTOOD THAT WE HAD MENTIONED THIS AS OUR POSITION.

PLEASE NOTE THAT SOVIETS IN THE ABOVE TEXT ASSERT THAT THEY HAVE FORTY-EIGHT REPEAT FORTY-EIGHT MODERN SUBMARINES OPERATIONAL AND UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

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FM THE WHITE HOUSE
TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
ZEM
T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE EYES ONLY
SECTION TWO OF TWO

WH21293

TO: AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH, SALT, HELSINKI
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER, WHITE HOUSE
DELIVER ON RECEIPT.

5. BEGIN TEXT

ANNEX

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET SIDE

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT AT PRESENT, BESIDES THE US, MODERN SUBMARINES WITH BALLISTIC MISSILES ARE ALSO OWNED BY THE US NATO ALLIES, THE SOVIET UNION AGREES THAT FOR THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM FREEZE AGREEMENT THE US AND THEIR NATO ALLIES COULD HAVE UP TO 50 SUCH SUBMARINES WITH THE TOTAL NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS THEREON OF UP TO 500 (INCLUDING 41 SUBMARINES WITH 656 BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS THEREON AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES).

IF HOWEVER OVER THE PERIOD OF THE ABOVE AGREEMENT THE US NATO ALLIES INCREASE THE NUMBER OF MODERN SUBMARINES TO THE EXCESS OF THOSE OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO THE CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ITS OWN SUBMARINES.

IN THE OPINION OF THE SOVIET SIDE, THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF MODERN BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES PROVIDED FOR IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, ONLY PARTIALLY COMPENSATES FOR THE DISBALANCE IN THE LOCATION OF THE USSR AND THE US MISSILE CARRYING NUCLEAR SUBMARINES. THEREFORE THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE WHOLE OF THIS PROBLEM AND PRIMARILY THE ISSUE OF DISMANTLING THE US MISSILE SUBMARINE ~~(SUBMARINE)~~ BASES OUTSIDE TERRITORY OF THE US, SHOULD BE APPROPRIATELY RESOLVED IN THE COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

I EXPRESSED NO OPINION TO DOBRYNIN ON THIS UNILATERAL SOVIET STATEMENT EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE LAST SENTENCE CAN NOT REPEAT NOT BE DRAFTED IN ANY WAY THAT IMPLIES THAT THE QUOTE PREMISE UNQUOTE REFERRED TO IS ONE THAT WE ACCEPT. DOBRYNIN INDICATED THAT THIS WAS A MANAGEABLE POINT.

6. BEGIN TEXT

IN THE AREA OF THE ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS DEPLOYMENT EACH SIDE MAY HAVE TWO LARGE (PHASED-LATTICE) RADARS, COMPARABLE IN POTENTIAL WITH SIMILAR ABM RADARS OF THE OTHER SIDE, AND ALSO NOT MORE THAN 18 ABM RADARS.

(WE ARE READY AT THE SAME TIME TO MAKE A JOINT STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATIONS CONCERNING LARGE (PHASED-LATTICE) RADARS WHICH ARE NOT ABM RADARS. OUR DELEGATION WILL SUBMIT DRAFT OF TECHNICAL TEXT TO THAT EFFECT).

END TEXT.

I MADE NO COMMENT. HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED TO ME THAT YOU CAN BE INSTRUCTED THROUGH NORMAL CHANNELS TO ACCEPT THE EIGHTEEN PLUS TWO PROPOSITION WHICH YOU HAD ALREADY BEEN WORKING ON EARLIER THIS WEEK. HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD TAKE THE FIRM POSITION THAT THIS DEAL IS TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON AGREEMENT CONCERNING GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION EAST OF THE URALS.

WARM REGARDS.

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